



N^o 277. SATURDAY, October 23, 1731.



WHAT modest, reasonable, and consistent Gentlemen are the *present, Advocates of Power!*—Whilst We were engaged in examining the *Treaties and Negotiations* of some Years past, They exclaimed very loudly against us, and charged us with a Design of frustrating the general Tranquility, by giving Encouragement to our Enemies, and furnishing Them with Arguments against us; though it is now manifest that our Observations proved of very great Service to their *Patron*, and guided Him into the right Road of accomplishing that desirable End, if He is capable of pursuing it, as it was chalk'd out to Him. I am sure, it cannot be pretended that *Those*, who did Him this kind Office, have thrown any Obstacles in his Way, or endeavoured to defeat Him in the Pursuit of it, by any unseasonable Enquiries into his *late Measures*. And what is the Consequence of this Silence on our Side? As we were before call'd *turbulent Incendiaries*, for giving our Opinion of these Affairs, so our late Acquiescence hath been construed into an Argument of our *Defeat*, and They have accordingly triumph'd over us with repeated *Id Pœans* of Success. So that if We offer to speak upon *these Subjects*, We are call'd *Enemies to our Country*, though their *Patron* evidently makes Use of our Sentiments; and if We hold our Tongues, it is said to proceed from our Want of any Thing to say.—We have an Instance of This in the Conduct of that great Reasoner, Mr. *Osborne* Himself; who, it must be confess'd, is a much fairer Adversary than his Brother *Walsingham*. It is not many Months ago that He charged our Writings



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tings as the true Causes of all the Obstacles, which had attended our *foreign Negotiations* for several Years past; and earnestly conjured us, if We had any Regard for the Character of *Patriots*, to lay down the *Craftsman*, and thereby put a finishing Hand to the *publick Tranquility*. Now, though We thought this Request a little too hard upon us, whilst the Troops on the *other Side* were continued in Pay; yet We condescended to comply so far with it, as to let their *Patron* pursue his *new Schemes* without Molestation for several Months; and yet Mr. *Osborne* is so ungrateful to us for this Favour, which He vouchsafed to beg with great Importunity, that He hath taken the same unhandsome Advantage of our Silence with his Fellow Labourers, and join'd in the Songs of Triumph against us. Nay, He hath even carried his Exultations so far as to give us Hopes, a Week or two ago, that his *Master* would soon be in a Capacity to disband his *mercenary Writers*, without any Prejudice to the common Cause.—I make no Doubt that Mr. *Osborne* would be well enough pleased, for his own Part, to be discharged from this troublesome Office, now He hath received his *Reward*; and, *finding Himself advancing in Years*, to retire with his *Quietus*.—For his Sake therefore, as well as for the Sake of the Publick, I heartily wish that their Victory may prove as compleat as They represent it, and that all those Difficulties and Uneasinesses may be removed, which have been the Subject of our Debate.—Let us therefore take a short Survey of our Case, and from thence judge what We are to expect from the *two last Treaties of Vienna*, and the Operations in Consequence of them.

I presume then that, upon the Introduction of *Don Carlos* and his Garrisons into *Italy*, (which is now drawing to the very Crisis of Execution) the *Spaniards* will immediately award full Reparation to our *injured Merchants*; inflict exemplary Punishment on their Officers in the *West-Indies*, who have been concern'd in committing,

committing, or countenancing these *unparallel'd Depredations*; and expedite peremptory Orders to their Troops, employ'd before *Gibraltar*, not only to desist from carrying on any *new Forts and Works*, but likewise to demolish Those already erected, and level them with the Ground.——The only good Reason, that can possibly be given, why This was not done long ago, is the natural Jealousy of the *Spanish Nation*, that We were not really in earnest, when We undertook the Introduction of *Don Carlos*, and only designed to amuse Them with vain Hopes; for otherwise, it was reasonable to expect that They should have put a Stop to all Hostilities against us, as soon as the memorable Treaty of *Seville* was concluded; or, at least, when We had prevail'd upon the *Emperor* to come into the same Scheme, by the *second Treaty of Vienna*, and when They saw us besides actually equipping a large Squadron for their Service. But when We shall have actually performed our Engagements, and put *Don Carlos* in Possession of these *favourite Dominions*, the King, his Father, and the Queen, his Mother, can have no farther Pretences for delaying to give us the fullest Satisfaction, after We have been so kind as to effectuate this *great Point* for Them, in Return for all their hard Usage, Indignities and Provocations.

When I take it for granted that the Introduction of *Don Carlos* will immediately take Place, by Virtue of our good Offices, (for I hope it will not be at our *Expence*,) I must likewise suppose that all our late Misunderstandings with his *Imperial Majesty* are fully adjusted by the *two last Treaties of Vienna*; and therefore We may reasonably expect that this Kingdom will no longer be at the Expence of maintaining 12,000 *Hessian Troops*.——As much as I have been represented an *Incendiary*, and an *Enemy to all wise Designs*, nobody shall be more ready to acknowledge his Majesty's Goodness, in easing his People from this
grievous

grievous Burthen, without enquiring too strictly what Use They have hitherto been, or can possibly be of, to the Interest of *Great Britain*.

As for the *Dutch*, They will certainly accede to our *new Treaties*, as soon as They find it for their *Interest* so to do; and That, no Doubt, will be very soon; for without their Accession and Concurrence, the very Scheme of a *general Peace* will be intirely disconcerted, and consequently the Triumph of *these Writers* will be of but short Duration.

I hope, it cannot be thought unreasonable, if We should farther expect that *France* will be induced to enter into these *new Measures*; because though I always apprehended that if a *War* should become necessary, the *Emperor* is a much more natural Ally and Confederate for us than his *Christian Majesty*; yet I cannot understand how the general Tranquility of *Europe* can be said to be fully establish'd, as *these Gentlemen* have lately asserted with great Confidence, unless the *French* are included in it; much less, if They should continue their Resentments against us for the Part we have lately acted, which They unreasonably call *Breach of Faith* and *Violation of the most solemn Engagements*, as appears by the *Conversation between two Englishmen at the Hague*, and the * *Answer to it*, lately publish'd in the *Courant*, which is really worth the Perusal of the Curious.

I shall not insist very much on the Concurrence of the *Northern Crowns*; because I cannot see how They are concern'd in the Dispute; at least, as far as it relates to the *British Nation*, unless the *East-India Trade* should become a new Topick of Contention; for it is said that They have a great Mind to share this Commerce with *Us* and the *Dutch*, as well as some *other Nations*; and considering the faithful, honest and most equitable

* See the *Courant of the 1st, 8th and 18th Inst.*

equitable Method, in which some Gentlemen of our *East-India* Company have lately exercised *that Trade*, it may perhaps be thought prudent to support Them in the Monopoly of it, even at the Expence of a *national War*. — Indeed, I have always been so unhappy, for my own Part, as to dislike all *exclusive Companies*, even supposing them to be *honestly managed*, and look upon them as baneful to *Trade* in general, and consequently very prejudicial to the Interest, as well as dangerous to the Liberties of the Nation ; but when We consider the *Abuses, Corruptions* and *Iniquities*, to which such Combinations are always subject, and have been often detected, I can never give my Vote for involving a whole People in the Expence of a War, or in Expeditions and Negotiations, equivalent to a War, for the Support of a *few wicked Men*, who betray their Trust and grow rich upon the Spoils of the Publick.

Having mention'd the *East India Company*, I beg Leave to quote an Observation of a † *late popular Writer* upon this Subject, which I believe will not be thought unseasonable at present.

“ After all I have said, I must confess that the
 “ *India Company* is liable to less Objections than any
 “ *other trading Monopoly* ; but not for the Reasons
 “ They give, but for a Reason, which is worth an
 “ hundred of Theirs ; for as all *beneficial Trades* are
 “ most successfully carried on by *free and open Com-*
 “ *merce*, so all *losing ones* do less Mischief when *mono-*
 “ *polized* ; and as the *first* ought to receive all possi-
 “ ble Encouragement, so the *other* ought to be put
 “ under suitable Discouragements ; and since We can
 “ have no Prospect, at present, of *that Trade's* being
 “ put upon an *advantageous Foot*, the next best Thing
 “ We can desire, is to let it go on upon the *present*
 “ *Establishment*, which in all Probability will soon
 “ *destroy it*, and perhaps put it upon a good one, if
 “ That

† See Cato's Letters *Vol. 3. p. 183.*

“ That can be ; for it is certain, if it could be carry’d
 “ on with its *full Swing*, it would ease us of every
 “ Penny of our *Money*, and destroy every *Manufacture*
 “ in the Kingdom, as well as every Man in it.”— If
 This is good Reasoning, which I will not take upon Me
 to determine, We ought never to put ourselves to any
 Expence, or Difficulties, for the Support of a *Company*,
 whose *Destruction* would be a Benefit to the Nation.
 But let us return to the Subject of this Paper.

If the late Triumphs of the *Court-Writers* are well
 grounded, We have Reason to expect that the *general*
Tranquility of Europe, upon a firm, equal and honou-
 rable Foundation, will be the speedy and happy Effect
 of all our tedious Negotiations ; and when our Affairs
 are perfectly settled *abroad*, We may likewise promise
 ourselves that our *domestick Affairs* will soon mend on
 our Hands ; that our *publick Expences* will be conside-
 rably lessen’d ; that our *Army* will be reduced as far
 and as fast as the Interest and Safety of the Kingdom
 will admit ; that a quicker and more effectual Progress
 will be made in the Discharge of our *national Debts* ;
 that the People will be eased by Degrees from the *Taxes*,
 which are most burthenfome to Them ; and that the
Parliament will have Time to think of some whole-
 some and necessary Laws, for the Revival of *Trade*, the
 Encouragement of our languishing *Manufactures*, and
 the Establishment of our *Liberties* upon a solid and la-
 sting Foundation.

Now, if the *Peace* should appear to be thus perfect
 by its Effects, the Triumphs of the *ministerial Writers*
 are, in some Measure, just ; and I shall be glad to con-
 gratulate my Country upon it, without making any
 nice and invidious Enquiries how We came to stand in
 Need of it. Nay, I will even make some Abatements.
 I am willing to allow for the *Fluctuation of Power*, and
 the *Vicissitude of human Affairs*. For this Reason, I
 have taken no Notice of the Consequences of the *prag-*
matick Sanction and the *Spanish Succession in Italy*, upon

which this Peace is founded, with Regard to *Great Britain*; though I could say a great deal upon those Subjects, and even with the Authority of *these Writers* themselves. But I scorn to press Them too far, or to seem rigid in my Demands. Let us only have tolerable Terms, and I dare answer the Nation will be easy. For my own Part, I assure Mr. *Osborne* that, whatever my *Circumstances* may be, or whatever Opinion He is pleased to entertain of Me, I am ready to lay down my Pen, upon such an Occasion, and will retire as quietly as Himself, without any *Pension*.

But He must excuse Me, if I defer my Congratulations till the *good News* is confirm'd; and We have had so many fine Essays of late (even from his own excellent Pen) about *making Peace Sword in Hand*, that I am sure He would look upon Me as a very *bad Politician*, if I laid down my Arms, before it was fully concluded. I confess, I should be very glad to see *one Law*, at least, repeal'd and *another* pass'd, before I quit the Field. The Reader will immediately conclude that I mean the *Septennial Act* and the *Pension Bill*; which I must take the common Liberty of an *Englishman* to recommend, in the strongest Manner, to the Consideration of our *Representatives*. I am willing to enter into the Examination of *these two Points*, or either of them, with any of the *ministerial Advocates*, as calmly as They please, and without any *personal Reflections*, unless such as may naturally result from the Debate against any Person, who shall distinguish Himself by opposing the general Interest and Inclinations of the People.

D.



SATURDAY

